1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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(especially rain, the sky, and volcanoes), or else definitely and personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is said that there are two Gods (Ing-aitin are), the Black God and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's dominions in order to kill men, but the distant rumbling is the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill them.' This happy fancy that the good god is near but the bad god far, which is probably so ancient but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel powers. Besides the Black and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called Naiteru-Kop, who appears to have been, if not the creator, at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man called Le-eyo appears to have been the principal patriarch, though there were also Dorobo (hunting tribes) in his time, so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered the world owing to his selfishness and disobedience (p. 164), and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, his younger son became the father of the Masai, while his elder son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior tribes.

The worship of the Masai, like their beliefs, seems to be somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Hollis's collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to Ing-ai for hours together. By a custom not without parallel in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice a day, but the men only occasionally and in grave circumstances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to Ing-ai as a distinct personality 'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase 'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon, the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are also invoked, and one song says in two consecutive verses, 'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is Lenana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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P 539 [521] te-kolyanye, ntji lolo 'Ng-eppuk.

Ntje 'l-Maasae, ntji pe enkopito 'ng-eppuk kuldo-mirtuk tkuni, tje y' ityam, aare etwata 'l-mirtuk lenye.

Ntii ali Kilaghon, a ninye ntyitiunye 'l-Maasae 'njore ekenyua; ntji ne-artim, Ol-akira le-'ng-ai-enye.

[522] Nae ninye tomuno l-figuetyuk, tee ainuniye 'l-murtua te-'a-jore.

Ntii Leghon, ae ninye ntyitiunyuki 'njore etua ee-nobili el-epu. Nae ang-alo e'le-ityuania o-'ng-ainig-enaale Leghon, nobili ake te-'a-keipa.

Ang-alig o-'l-epu o 'ang-ainai[1].

Twe ainai l-Maasae y' etwa el-epu ang-alig, ntje nein o-ntji nebaarnki, nemitiki 'e-gitoto kwanok, pe o ang-alig lome.

Ore ali pe ainai ang-ainai nein pulee ang-ai, ntje nanie 'l-murtua le-gitoto, pe o ang-ainai lome.

A halo round the moon, and the milky way.

If the Masai see a halo round the moon, they say that a place has been attacked and many cattle captured. The halo is supposed to represent the cattle kraal.

Then again, if they see the road which crosses the sky (the milky way), they say that this is the road by which the warriors are taking their cattle.

[1] Ostrich's kraal.

[2] The Masai have two names for Venus, Kilaghon when seen in the morning, and Leghon when seen in the evening (cf. Lumbwa and Elmolo, the morning and evening stars of that community).

[3] Lit. the moon's kraal and the road.

MASAI CUSTOMS

gisig naho, pe eramat, naaku kunuk, naitipuk ol-ine, ana eiyanishore, naia 'a-gure, naaku ol-karnia te-inna-kitetig.

Ore en-daa oo-'a-gisho naa 'a-gujit; nanyor il-Masaae 'a-gujit, ana ninje en-daa oo-'a-gisho.

Oti tshii ten eany eng-ai ake, nepwo 'Kgurtiyuk naaniki 'a-gujit il-kilani pe etam naisai eng-ai.

Naa, ten tar ol-murani ol-eyitoi te-shoo, nefigwo ol-eyitoi 'a-gujit nanye, naa ten nkil ol-murani 'a-gujit olashigita ol-eyitoi, nanniitiki aar.

Ore ai ten tarare 'l-Masaae 'l-nadgati, y' eiyito naitaye e-sitwa, naitaye 'a-gujit ilashaye.

Naa, ten eriayunye 'l-murran te-'a-jore, pe agilaki 'l-natarishite, naiashiki, olashigita endito eng-oti e-kulie napukurore 'a-gujit naanyori.

Naa, ten aidori, naaniktai 'naisaio in-gujit.

Naa, ten enaiyoki ol-tadgani 'a-gujit, nanairish e-naiyuta, eij: "Ol-tarilishai ilia, naiyitio 'a-gishu."

Naa, ten aio ol-tadgani eiji, pe nkai ol-dani tinarakitie eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich. 233 181 [554]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [702]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [928]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is [227] said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and [182] that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is travelling on a journey sees a tree which has [284]

934 [784] olosi, nelgoro 'n-gujit enelgoki, ano ije notum enditki nolo elkgoro.

If on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyor il-Masaae 'n-gujit nalelg, ano ije: 'Eloborua ope ang-Ai 'n-gisho ne 'n-gujit, nilitó in-dikitin nalobo 'yook ang-Ai.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us milk and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

934 784 Ore 'ng-oloigi pikin tee oleg i-figurtyok in-gisho, nelloo kulo te-'n-ijukuri, nelloughoo, ano ije: 'Enyor ang-Ai.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

933 427 Il-nishiren oo 'l-punet.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Melgor il-Masaae 'l-nishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[614] Eata aa-kiolitoni el-nishiren lenye kitok le-'n-gishitoni pikin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Naitiki aata 'l-gilat ti-etwa, elyitioni en-gitoig injore en-e-'n-gishitoni enje, kake en-e-figuoin.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-eta el 'l-punet; netii en-gishitoni nemenia el-punetin lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Naitiki nawo ti-etwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Tee ebili en-gitoig nalyitioni 'njore en-oo-'l-kiteet enna-kitoig, kake en-e-figuoin.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Kiteet clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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ten tje: 'Ol-kila le-'ag-enishi ai,' nenipe.

Ore ten tje e-ligurtyitai: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nenipe.

tree if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Masaa.

Nalasa kulikae-Masaa ol-momai.

Ten tji etaam ligwala ol-lae tarroo, ainik e-merge sainko ol-aigwenani, ntje nakite: 'Ten etaam ella-lae, tasur eng-ai.'

Ore ten etaam ella-lae, nâk; kake ten eita elae, nenâk.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Ilngitilitin.

O-ilngilio le-'ag-tinono e-'ag-ai.

Ilalo 'Ligurtyok-oo-'l-Masaa y' alako eng-oo-ligurtyitai.

Nelooruru, oo'yaki ildya sentilalo kulio, utyeleg ol-kerr ilj Ol-aipukiaki eng-aji, aroki Ol-kipukat.

Ten 'ligurtyok eneyeleg engany, nainoo aarori.

Kenyikaki 'l-lawa oo-utyelagye, anee tje oo-lpariany.

Ore y' eilip, oniayitiko ranany, ntje:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1]. 957.9 944

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [591]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Eng-ái! eng-ái! enkiteno ai,
Solo. The God! the God! whom I pray, my,

Iajuki en-dinoton,
Give me the offspring,

Naiborukuo enaka,
Who threshes and it rains,

Iyo tóki ak' entemo.
Chorus. Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Kilaghan olayo,
Solo. Morning star which rises hither,

Iyo tóki ak' entemo.
Chorus. Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Pumui loimbwo',
Solo. He to whom I offer prayer is like rain,

Iyo tóki ak' entemo.
Chorus. Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Nabunui, nanáig,
Solo. Who is prepared in, and Richness,

Iyo tóki ak' entemo.
Chorus. Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Thee only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose mercy is an yearning event
As only clement hearts display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

* This line is sometimes rendered Pumui loimbwo. Pumui is another name for God. Oloimbwo is thunder-accompanied rain.

1: Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ndishi nerasy Ilmo-ingishe, eiye:

Ee-kaiye le'nenigium.

Nenigium nanu-yuf'-ai!

Kaiye! Eng-ishig
Ndai, gwaie ai!

Ha! Ha! Ha!
Ya! Ya! Ha!

They then sing another song as follows:

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother!

Solo. Ha! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ha! Ha! Ha!
Ya! Ya! Ha!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in colours bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The one is born for whom her maid did long.

O-ingilie loo-Ngoitoyok eimoore eng-ai.

The women's prayer for rain.

Tee ndai naju enaya eng-ai nkai, nelimoore 'Ngoitoyok, ninishi'o-gujit O-kiloni looye, nayeu nerasy, eiye:

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

O-kiseruale lolig O-nishig lolig.

Solo. Our lords of the Earth's luck.

Ha! Wa! Parmale.

Chorus. Ha! Wa! Almighty.

Enaya Nanoo loi eimoke, eimoke,

Solo. The father of my Nanoo* has conquered, has conquered,

O-ngoloo naijuki 'Ngoitoki

Chorus. The bright lands and also the lowlands

Le'-l-kumuakat lolig le'-ngo-ki eig ilolo.

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. Ol-ari lolig Iyook,

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. Ol-kilikoni le'-l-le'-ki-Enjoyap.

Chorus. O supporter of Kholoni's son.

* Nanoo was Kholoni's daughter, and half sister to Lenana.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thou grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All owe thee for their herd.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Masire's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our own may be
With ample show'rs for weal and lee.

O-ingflis loo-'l-mérrak ten eary eng-ai sóle.

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

Tani meshe eng-ai, méirrak il-méirrak en-gíme kítok, nee e-suki ainkyúki, enpíki e-meshe e-'l-ólosi enji ol-ekóre, nenee il-méirrak inne-kíno, nenee, síje:

If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cattle wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-ekore. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Eng-ai nerók, kow-ee!
Eng-ai, indoóko 'yook!
Kow! ol-le'-áitee! Kow!

Eng-ai nerók, kow-ee!
Eng-ai, indoóko 'yook!

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth[1]!
Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far-extending powers,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

[1] Lit. The of the horn.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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O-ingilio loo-'e-gura kasi nanka, yog-ai.	The children's song for rain.
Ore tee eany eng-ai naka, eeney le-gura, aijo:	When there is no rain the children sing as follows:
Ai, tasha!	*Ashe.* Rain, fall!
Kaagur e-ereata,	*Chorus.* That the hide does not shake me,
Ol-chini nemeta	The old skin
Oiyuki 'e-gurusa.	Which takes away the calves.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost shake
On that old skin
That 's used to take
The calves in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

Ilingilitia le-'e-jore.

Songs in time of war.

Tee oipio neyeu 'l-murran loo-'l-Masaai en-jore, nalipa neyeu el-olosi. Ore g' ekake el-olosi en-aiboni, neyeu.

Ore tee elimany il-murrak il-murran lenye, nalingilan bulle e en-aiboni te-'e-gop, ana ilo: "Enyor-nag-ai." Ketallili ai 'kpuiyak ilingilia eng-oli e-kulia.

Ore ye elanya en-gop oo-'l-nalipai, tee eperian 'l-nalipai murran, ateu il-murran 'l-aiboni, nilimba te-'ana-wiji natii 'l-ilona lenye, aijo: "Ikaa ai-

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, "for," they say, "God wishes it." The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd.

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: "I am the son of

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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le-ilpuroio, ten ai ene ten epuk, enaa-wiji.'

Ore ten eipiri 'l-enalgani, tenpere 'l-nanaa aaae. Kaa, ten eiloji enaaa, enwuy artuka 'le-gilaka, eije:

Aitoma ol-ari lai, naitoma eng-ki-i,
We-le, We-lee!
We-le, We-lee!
Aitoma ol-ari lai, naitoma Ol-Ceaaa.
We-le, We-lee!
We-le, We-lee!
Ol-alaai laig, el-alaai laig,
Kilki 'nanyat nanaanya 'l-enalgi.
We-le, We-lee!
We-le, We-lee!

ne-aaiki-ae; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flee, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my poet, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. We-le! We-lee!
We-le! We-lee!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my poet, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. We-le! We-lee!
We-le! We-lee!
Solo. Our medicine-man, Our medicine-man,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the kiilinkin.
Chorus. We-le! We-lee!
We-le! We-lee!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we honoured bring
The lambs whereof we spoke to thee.
O wisest chief, bless thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe enaipi 'l-nanaa le-'e-pon, enpoke nenkiyioni-nye, en'ap-nanaare, en'anajin-enye, enpere lee nanai eng-ki, tee eilepu el-aiki le-'ap-alanye.

Ilmoiki 'e-gujit il-kilani laiye en 'nalaaia nanaanya kulu, eree ije: "Elatuma pe epuroo 'e-pun ang; aboiki naia e-nanaak.

When warriors tarry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the kraals on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: "Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry."

1:Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore tee elaruro gikin, nanoy, aije:

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Eng-ái nañoon, nanáig.

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Eng-ái nañoon en-dimáton.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Ámoon Parnái nailepun.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Eng-ái nañoon en-dimáton.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

'E-gwa ang'ooi'-dis inyiáko.

Solo. Return hither our children.

'E-gwa ang'ooi'-dis inyiáko.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who grantest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our men in safety from the war.

Itii ai ilkaa-singíliu le-'ngitaaore o'-ng-ái tee elaruiya 'i-nooma te-'i-jore. Enany i-ligeriyak gikin elaruiyáa 'ai-lakeria kotiti ewapiaiíguen 'a-gwijit enanyori, aije:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors carry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

I

Eng-ái! eng-ái! tákis E-naishóna[1] le-'ilóiga!

Solo. God! God! tear out.

Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Tákisho E-naishóna le-'ilóiga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out.

Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

II

Ke-nánya enájino. Kakenéki eng-ítaaore o'-ng-ái.

Solo. Girls, be not silent.

Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Tákisho E-naishóna le-'ilóiga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out.

Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] E-naishóna, the brand-marks of cattle. The morning have ye break the power of the foe.

[422]

1: Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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III

Kiloghua oloipa,
Ol-akira le-'n-doipa,
Taku
E-nishiren le-'lkilgs!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

'Ng-eiamba e-Koimerag, taku
E-nishiren le-'lkilgs!

Ormile en-derusa, taku
E-nishiren le-'lkilgs!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

Ore tan eriayunye 'l-murran le-'n-jore, ye olmiki le-'n-netasua 'ng-elgito enye, nerany eyeu, eijo:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Eyeu'ng-alepuk ing-oriolgi.
Kimilio tau-'l-dgolunye.

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.

Yia apej! Yia apej!

Chorus. Yea! I burn! Yea! I burn!

Yia apej! Yia apej!

Yea! I burn! Yea! I burn!

[1] The sun.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Eunjunye-Eunjibeis* is the election of the unit leader (*oiguenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [1] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [2] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [3] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *oiguenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [4] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [5]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [6] is also

[1] For the same reason given for the *oi eputos*.

[2] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *si-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[3] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Eupidoopi* clan, the clan of the *loibon*.

[4] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[5] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Oiguenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*.

[6] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

I: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[91] [54] ceremony performed. The festival lasts three days, during which none of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Endeagore-Baptists* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offer the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The [554] *piron*-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The *piron*-relationship is officially established at the *Endeagore* ceremony."

[92] their blood is drunk in turn by the *mojungoroo* and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' unit, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial blessings are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

" That the *piron*-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by FOSBROOKE, pp. 16 s. In February, 1938, after *Endeagore* had been performed, " a *Dorobi* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next but two above the candidate of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local *Dorobi* (the *piron*-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his home (ri-

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the lawmen what order to give'.

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[*] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *olorungesi*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 43 as "the official charmmaker of the morus". His function, however, seems to be limited to Uasin.

Great emphasis is laid by WARMBROOK,[**] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fosbrooke also says, "must in fact be the same". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *ramptis*.[***]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new dwellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[****]

At the same, the *ayeyo* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony.

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[*] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 sq.

[**] WARMBROOK, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[***] This circumstance supports HOLLIS's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates in the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 30 sq.

[****] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WARMBROOK, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: "Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rivers on their journeys. — Lenana and Sabuit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard them. May our age be the bravest". The expression of the first verse "return safely" probably refers to the raid which follows *eunoto*. Lenana, Sabuit, Mbatian were prophets.

2: Bernardi E, M-6 (no date) 1955 FL12 Massai FL12

c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[***] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial blessings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the horns of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*manyatta*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders in the main site of *Endarapera*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: "This is our fire-stick, we are one".[***]

Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This element is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

The Overlapping Rhythm. Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In fact the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focussing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the second of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. As

[***] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. Hollis, l. c., pp. 197, 300.

[***] Merker, l. c., pp. 148 ss.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Maori F112

The *Ipitoma* is a warrior elected by a number of heads of [726]
their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death.
He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their
battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men,
but, like the general of a civilised army, he stands aside and
watches the progress of the fight under the direct command
of the *Lyprosani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men
wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-
guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely
on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is sum-
marily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at
a form of government. Each war-district elects its own
Ipitoma. The *Lyprosani*, again, is a very different personage. [725.
He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the
debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pug-
nacious savages, the Maui are the most remarkable speakers
and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we
have the Indian lionised for his eloquence and dignity; but
commend me to the Maui for grace and oratorical power,
for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of
the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by
their absence in our own Houses of Talking. Not that their
genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their
fatal persistency in talking out a question they might even
beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend
days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed,
can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed
with our history.

The *Ipitoma* and *Lyprosani* having been elected, a raid to [726
the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted
themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting,
preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties [241]
to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef.
This they did under the belief that they were storing up
a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced
type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed
on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with [782,
grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they [515]
danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the
enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction
of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their
devotions, howling out in the most lugubrious street-singer
fashion, "Amun Ngái-ái! Amun Mhuruiua!" (We pray to
God! We pray to Mhuruiua!"). Previous to this, how-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

In connection with the divided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Notierkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, through the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, less not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngái, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngái. My lamp was Ngái. Ngái was in the storming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had some connection with Ngái. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the gourd. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the door, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the gourd comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—cleanliness being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

is called *en of emuk*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *el emuk* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *englkata*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thighcloths. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

shows reluctance, as he may—for many days election to the office—he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys are off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *eiguenani* is presented with his badge of office called *el kowa enk*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'eiguenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *l'eiguenani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'eiguenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'eiguenani* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesmen presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el engwiwyakin*—the red bull. This the spokesmen is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesmen is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent misfortune in battle, another to cause the news to arrive freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1928 for which a famous medicine man *Sendeyo* supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. *Sendeyo* received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesmen are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably elicits

561 hands. They are followed by the morans and the women who cut bush to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used is a recent accessory is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the morans each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut, made of bibs to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The morans guard the log through the night and the morning.

[114] In the morning all the morans come and form a circle round the fire; they bring their spears, and their lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the morans; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting morans.

561 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is
562 held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed,
● 121 so is the green grass waved toward the morans. As they walk the elders call down the blessing of the *Engare-Narok*.

Engai!

Entomonyuna. Enjore.
Entobulo! Engai.
Entan il kuloloong o l'ang Ai. Nai.
Motoyuash ndai il kuloki.
Entoki il oibonjuok, aya
Ala il kojok l'emologo! Enapa.

Eiyo Lenana; Supuk o Mbateyan enjuma
Motogolo indae il lugony
Entan el Dunyo Pilum
Entan Kuinarok
Entoning on eyo il o ninji.

[illegible]! Engai! [illegible]! Engai!
[illegible]
[illegible] Engai [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]! Engai! [illegible]
[illegible] Engai!
[illegible]! [illegible] —— —— Engai!
[illegible]! Engai!
[illegible]! Engai [illegible]!
[illegible] Engai! [illegible]!
[illegible]!
[illegible]! Engai,
[illegible]. Engai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Become ye men and of God.
May the illnesses pass you by.
With those who hate us, that they may find dry stones on
their journeys.
[illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Become possessed of wise heads!
Become as great as Kilimanjaro!
Be the father of my children; be fathers of boys and girls.
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many wives!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee.
May our age be the bravest.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the founding of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Henceforward the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe.

12: Pam G.5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12 Kenya

The *Lolo and Sale E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows:—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 1.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their heifers up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the enclosure, while some elders walked round them drinking honey-wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey-wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Iriminin* (from verb *erim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

The chief functionary is the *Ol-Oiboni*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived on true the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Oiboni*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Oiboni*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiboi engidon*. *Engidon* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

O-Singira (*Ensingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Lolo E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Except against the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Enkidongoi*, the general word for a charm.

(51) **D. Second Fan.**—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

[51] [52] [541] Prior to the event *Ol Sylaker* the men went out west in the bush or bush. They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 2 ft. 6 in. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 280 in Hollis.

[553] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 10 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitabosua* or *Il Kibarnit* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors brave.

[574] [68] They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitabosua*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a funny and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kibarnit*.

[51] [52] [541] When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks towards the East emitting his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipukuna* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are usually always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

[513] The prayer is as follows :—

"*Ko Ai aitoomore*[1] *ainkokua alamaishoke enkiki ainkokuaire kiome kwaare il ngarai el loghonga. Ko ige Eng Ai aitoomore isipiki igesh isipiko nanny'ang'anga. Kore ige Eng Ai nanisje Ko Ai tukuyaki igesh el gorer ooo el kile. Kore ige Eng Ai nanisje isipiki igesh aamore il ngarai il loghony ainkokua il enangesh nainguana Inkilaa enangesh aamore il ngarai il loghony. Aitoomore Ko Ai woore ai engolong nanisje i'el ainkoka tangore igesh il till enangesh.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out bitter with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my land. And Thou O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thou O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the lands of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the lands of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the *Il Kiniy* is "*Tangarak ipuak l'alona tanore nakore inkonata o aserai nemetti el nanyori le nagai ekiti.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

[533]

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, of which other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrised patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Arms-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword) of warriors, and women of others), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a ceremonial arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "elkanit-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Elgeyo and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 200 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Shields are not cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Religion and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the kind); but the elegant belief that the soul of a before or rich man lives into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognised as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the kidney who died c. 1860; thus Thomson heard the Il-Ariqwak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Nolorobuk" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Nolorobuk, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *nalorobuk* means no more than "that which begat the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-epe*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/xii mss./
In the Church Missionary Society's station in Trovoa" /cited in English/, this, as Meier himself told me, can only refer to a Masai man from whom he received other information: since for the many investigations on /xii/ which his ethnological work is based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1930, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionswissenschaft /Congress on the History of Religions/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Meier in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Meier worked, were more faithful guardians of these ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Meier also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Meier, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across these traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Meier had completely learned what is set down in his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also C. Klier's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their language and folklore, p. xix), the connections of the Masai

/this name/

and their imaginary worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), most unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Meiler's book, with Meiler's Meni is the best apologia for the reliability of Meiler's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has since all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, raised against Meiler's designation of the Meni as a "Semitic people," and with that then also at the same time against their exclusive ancestral home in Arabia (3).

3. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 38, 1906, pp. 720-724.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Meni traditions (Archiv OR Sel. -Czech., IX, 1908, p. 340), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Meni must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with them /ya/ of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Masai, closely related to the Meni, from the new book by Hollis (The Masai, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Elton, Oxford, 1905):

/12 copy/

[illegible] date to appear commencement before the eighty one. Thus, the Ideni living on the military station of Ideni[illegible] /Ideni/ remained hidden during Zondeo's presence when the [illegible] visited it at the beginning of 1888, and any Ideni warrior who was dare deliver a message either to Zondeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Ideni. By letting the capacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he [illegible]s his own people from devastating civil wars for which the [illegible] fraction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably ensue if he produce it. Neither he nor his [illegible] relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /ibi/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplications [illegible] Ideni got [illegible]. He reads the prophecies from an oracle goose of the kind of the [illegible] off of bottom. From a goat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic oracles, which often enough is wrested to Pythian ambiguity. The goose, like the lineage, is called [illegible] gbini. The office of [illegible] is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

The Ideni do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the El olbonok. The first few or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are Kidebeni, Gwiga, Bengumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lengirifebi. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebeye, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Ilonok, who

[842] observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period. The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously wore, in order -- as the Ute explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of [842] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting cone herb (1)

1. From Ahiezia anhelocinctus.

called ni nukuma, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the level or its immediate [838] vicinity. If he should cause a crippled person or man's kin because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world afflicted with the same defect. [839] For a successful delivery the [844] pregnant woman prays: "Ni ni nikiy 'nikuwaga ee tiaxaxa" (1) [842]

1. Or ee diaxaxa.

• "God let come out healthy -- the unborn." as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (ah gainijani, ñ gainijah) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new- [842] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in dull, often plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a [846] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if [842] both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

[Ol ones.]

[553] whereupon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gonog, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age. whereupon another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the mayyo a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name kimorit (from e' mamorit = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the women (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She [561] mentions the name Ol lalgiechi = cattle owner (2).

> 2. Obedere is its meaning: the name Ol olgiechi now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "dabe rierkuni ñ gimis e dare (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (en ngeni, ngeni i gulugi, gulugi) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the enclosure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short,

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stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

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C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 16. Dancing women.

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a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

726 /93 cont./ Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be [263] discussed in a later section (2). [276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something [782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726 137

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

726 /94 cont./
'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
• 782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[925] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os tirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/97 cont./
726 emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
704 come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ff
[727] shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

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Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
704 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp.
[727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon
727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must
417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/98 cont./

727 [703] in shares as equal as possible; one warrior receives as much as the other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (il gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every 727 579 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. [614] If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the El muleljan, on the other the 'L aiser and El mengana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ɛdo mɔŋgi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteŋ = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again [237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of [136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai /Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable [782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

XX.

000 Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. [428] These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the paternal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words wõu, maitujuño, or õu, maitanaba, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

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764 With one part of it they first anoint themselves, the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a neat's skin. Amidst the lamentations of the women remaining in the kraal, the sons carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand
[761] touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in any other way, according to popular belief, /201/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the
76 deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, troughlike pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the sons, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother
• [782] of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer: "Ng ai pasinai, etoa baba erta jamŏn, njage ol ogunja nahall, najage eń gischon, njage ń gera," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black ram has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the ones present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon passing

764 [765] /201 cont./ Later, upon passing the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.

• [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 [791] [613] [754] [237] In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/206 cont./

821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[1116] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades (ñ gokwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three el moruo who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[1116] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ol orugo) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
[1187] tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as promising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lubot Eñg ai = the sides of God) the Masai have the following names: North = Kōpekŏb or Kāpekŏb, which also designates the land of the original home. South = o' mĕroi, i.e., the battle; it is the direction in which the Masai traveling south always had to endure new battles against the long-settled el mĕg. East = engilebunoto eñg oloñ = the sun rises. West = endoijeroto eñg olon = the sun sets.

• 782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/207 cont./

• 782 [823] evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Masai and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with: 'Ng ai pasinai or 'Ng ai atomono or 'Ng ai atasaia, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one in her left hand, while she has tied several blades around the right upper arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. [613] The married men belonging to the El kiboron lineage, who often pray morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and theirs healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. /208/ But these are exceptions. As a rule they content themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, tadjabage si nanu, njage e magiló = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol aigwenani) and a benefactor ('n gamnin) go through the group,

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782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nja ijōk ń gischu, jo ijok ń gischu kumok, ninŕgua ijōk čiolońga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words; Hai narok, ohō, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

796 782 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled [372] [824] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A [824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogońgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully [824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matańguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

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796 782 [751] [237] participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

[539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aídog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oh gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

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796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eń gera, eń golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eń gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eń gischon, jo ijok ń gischu, jo ijok eń gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eń gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

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695 testimony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are
685 punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, in which only male individuals may participate, take place as a rule under a shade tree close to the kraal in which the judge lives. Each new arrival, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a larger number of listeners have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: 'Ng ai dadjaba ijok, jo ijok e magilo, jo
• [782] ijok ń gischu = May God protect us, may he give us strength and livestock, to which those assembled reply: eha or escha (may he give). Then they proceed with the matter. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They assert the truth either by the word ewai = in truth, aischa 'Ng ai ń gischu = so certain that God may give me livestock, or by various curses; masoa 'Ng ai means: may God kill me if I speak an untruth; masoa en abere = may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another curse consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words: madaduarigí kuma ń gonjet ten eledjer ata 'Ng ai, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, torture is customary, tena en obíni, i.e., tie the string! The string of a bow is tied so tightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it cuts into the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an alibi, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ol momai l os sarge, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: 'Ng ai a-ok elle sarge, tena nanu ajawa ena geteń, naga elle sarge, i.e., God, I drink this blood, if I have taken that head of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ol momai l en jerta natoijo, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting these, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then soon /220/ be dead like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one still is. Less common is the